

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 DRC-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00

SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 SAJ-01

ACDA-19 EB-11 OMB-01 (ISO) W
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O R 211615Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1228

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, US, EEC

SUBJECT: US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS: FURTHER PRESS REACTION

SUMMARY. MARCH 21 GERMAN PRESS HEADLINES PRESIDENT'S REMARKS IN HOUSTON AND FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL'S STATEMENT TO BUNDESTAG (BONN 4423) ON US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS. WHILE UNDERSCORING CONTINUED SERIOUSNESS OF CURRENT RIFT, LEITMOTIF OF MOST PAPERS IS THAT BOTH SCHEEL AND PRESIDENT ARE SEEKING TO "DAMPEN THE CONTROVERSY." PRESS PARTICULARLY APPLAUDS PRESIDENT FOR OPPOSING UNILATERAL US TROOP CUTS. WHILE TOO LATE FOR MORNING PRESS, GERMAN RADIO AND AFN HAVE REPORTED THAT SECRETARY WILL VISIT BONN AGAIN MARCH 24. END SUMMARY.

1. WHILE ALL PAPERS RETAIN THEIR CAUTION ABOUT US OBJECTIVES, TO SOME EXTENT THE HEADLINES TELL THE STORY:

"SCHEEL AND NIXON TRY TO SETTLE ATLANTIC CONFLICT" (STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG);

"BONN AND WASHINGTON TRY TO SMOOTH WAVES--NIXON MODIFIES HIS THREAT--SCHEEL AGAINST 'VERBAL ESCALATION'" (GENERAL ANZEIGER);

"NIXON MODIFIES THREAT--MILDER BONN-WASHINGTON CLIMATE" (RHEINISCHE POST);

"SCHEEL FOR CLOSER U.S.-EUROPEAN CONTACT--NIXON AGAINST UNILATERAL TROOP WITHDRAWAL" (NEUE RHEIN ZEITUNG);

"SCHEEL AND NIXON DAMPEN CONTROVERSY" (FRANKFURTER NEUE PRESSE);

"TENSION WITH U.S. RELAXED--SCHEEL WELCOMES AMERICAN FAITHFULNESS TO ALLIANCE" (KOELNER STADT-ANZEIGER);

"SCHEEL: EUROPEAN UNIFICATION ONLY UNDER PROTECTION BY ALLIANCE WITH U.S." (SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG);

"SCHEEL REFERS TO ALLIANCE PROBLEMS OF 'SERIOUS NATURE'" UNCLASSIFIED

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(DIE WELT);

"NIXON INTENDS TO DISCUSS TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM EUROPE WITH BREZHNEV" (FAZ).

2. IN A FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL, THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE STATES THAT "THE PART OF NIXON'S CHICAGO SPEECH THAT WAS ONLY A CASE OF PLAYING POKER HAS BEEN TAKEN BACK: THE

THREAT ABOUT WITHDRAWING TROOPS. STILL, THE BANG OF THE
FIST ON THE TABLE WAS MEANT EARNESTLY ENOUGH. AND ITS
ECHO RESOUNDS THROUGH THE REMARKS NIXON NOW HAS MADE IN
HOUSTON. FAZ CONTINUES: "ANY SUCCESSOR TO
NIXON WOULD BEHAVE SIMILARLY TOWARDS EUROPE. THE SPHERE
OF U.S. INTERESTS THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO CHAMPION WOULD

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O R 211615Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1229

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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REMAIN THE SAME. WHATEVER IS THE FUTURE OF THE U.S. PRESIDENCY, EUROPE HAS TO RECKON WITH A STRONG AMERICA. THAT IS FINE, FOR WE NEED A STRONG AMERICA. BUT WE LACK SUFFICIENT HARMONY HERE IN EUROPE TO NEGOTIATE WITH A STRONG TRANSATLANTIC ALLY. NOT TO ASK SOMEBODY WHO IS STRONGER THAN YOU FOR HIS OPINION IS - AMONG NATIONS AS AMONG PEOPLE - ONLY A FOOLISH OVER COMPENSATION FOR A FEELING OF INFERIORITY." FAZ CONCLUDES: "IN THE FUTURE AMERICA'S AND EUROPE'S INTERESTS WILL NOT ALWAYS AUTOMATICALLY RUN PARALLEL. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, WITH ITS GROWING ECONOMIC WEIGHT IN THE WORLD, CASTS A STRONGER, EVEN A MORE DISTURBING, IMAGE ABROAD THAN THE EC MEMBERS THEMSELVES ARE AWARE OF. SINCE THIS STRONG ECONOMIC BLOC IS NOT CORRESPONDINGLY STRONG AS A POLITICALLY UNITED FORCE, THE AMERICAN PARTNER IS NOT SURE WHERE IT - THE UNITED STATES - STANDS IN SUCH A SITUATION. AS FOR FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL'S REASONABLE WORDS IN THE BUNDESTAG YESTERDAY, SPOKEN TO DE-ESCALATE THE TRANSATLANTIC DISPUTE, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT OUR DISUNITED EC RENDERS SCHEEL AUTHORITATIVE ENOUGH TO MAKE ANY IMPRESSION ON NIXON OR THE AMERICANS. PRESUMABLY NOT."

3. THE BONN GENERAL-ANZEIGER ALSO CARRIES A FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL CONTENDING THAT NEITHER SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC REALLY UNDERSTANDS THE OTHER'S NEEDS OR THOUGHTS; "EVEN FOR THOSE EUROPEAN OBSERVERS WHO RESIDE IN WASHINGTON - RIGHT UP TO THE AMBASSADORS - IT ISN'T EASY TO SORT OUT WHAT MUST BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY AND WHAT SHOULD BE FILED UNDER " THE GA CONTINUES: "HAVING TONED DOWN IN HOUSTON THE THUNDERCLAP HE EMITTED IN CHICAGO, NIXON STRENGTHENS THE IMPRESSION THAT AT LEAST A PART OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IS A MANEUVER. YET IT SHOULD NOT BE OVERLOOKED HOW GREAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON THE AMERICAN WISH TO LINK SECURITY ASPECTS WITH ECONOMIC ASPECTS AND ON HOW MUCH WEIGHT THE AMERICAN POLICY MAKERS ATTACH TO GAINING SOME INFLUENCE ON EUROPEAN DECISION MAKING. THE BLOWING HOT, BLOWING COLD OF THE PAST FEW WEEKS - SHARP CRITICISM, THEN AN APOLOGY; HARD WORDS, LATER SOFTER ONES - HAS MADE ONE THING CLEAR;

WATERGATE SLOWLY IS BECOMING DANGEROUS. THE AMERICANS'
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DOMESTIC SCANDAL IS AFFECTING FOREIGN RELATIONS ."

4. SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG CARRIES WASHINGTON COMMENTARY
OF HERBERT VON BORCH, ENTITLED: "NIXON IS CHANGING ONLY
THE THERAPY - THE THREAT OF REDUCING TROOPS REMAINS."
BORCH NOTES THAT "THE CONFLICT THAT BROKE OUT BETWEEN
THE U.S. AND THE EC WAS ESCALATED BY NIXON'S HARSH WORDS
IN CHICAGO, AND NOW, IN HOUSTON, HAS BEEN DE-ESCALATED
IN ITS MOST DANGEROUS ASPECTS ALSO BY THE PRESIDENT."
HE OBSERVES THE PRESIDENT HAS SOFTENED "HIS PREVIOUS
THREAT TO REDUCE THE TROOPS IN EUROPE UNILATERALLY IN
ORDER TO PUNISH THE EUROPEAN ALLIES IF THEY KEEP ON
ACTING AGAINST AMERICAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CON-
CEPTS." HOWEVER, BORCH NOTES "THE U.S. LINK BETWEEN
THE AMERICAN GUARANTEE OF SECURITY AND EUROPEAN WILLING-
NESS TO GIVE WAY ON MATTERS NOT WITHIN THE MILITARY
SPHERE--FROM THE EC'S PREFERENTIAL AND NON-PREFERENTIAL
TRADE MEASURES TO WESTERN EUROPE'S READINESS FOR A
DIALOGUE WITH THE ARABS." BORCH CONTINUES: "NOW NIXON
NO LONGER EXPRESSES SUCH A LINKAGE, BUT STILL THE DANGER
HANGS OVER US LIKE THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES, DANGEROUS
STILL EVEN IF THE IMMEDIATE THREAT HAS BEEN SUSPENDED BY
THE WORDS SPOKEN IN HOUSTON...THE SOFTER-SPOKEN WORDS
MAY SOOTHE ONE'S NERVES, BUT THEY SCARCELY ALTER THE
MAIN NIXON-KISSINGER FOREIGN POLICY GOAL - TO FASHION
'THE STRUCTURE OF PEACE,' AND DECIDE HOW THE EUROPEANS
ARE TO
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O R 211615Z MAR 74
FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1230
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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FROM JOBERT, CALLAGHAN AND SCHMIDT, IT WAS AFTER ALL UP
TO NIXON TO POUND LESS HEAVILY WITH HIS HAMMER. NONETHE-
LESS, HIS WARNING STANDS THAT THE EUROPEANS MUST
REALIZE THAT IF THEIR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POSITIONS
ARE SUCH AS TO SEEM HOSTILE TO THE AMERICANS, IT WOULD
BE HARD FOR ANY PRESIDENT TO GET THROUGH CONGRESS THE
BILLS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE EUROPEANS' AND THE
AMERICANS' SECURITY."

5. BORCH THEN SPECULATES ON BROAD U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES:
"HERE AGAIN WE HAVE THIS ODD USE OF THE WORD 'HOSTILE',
IT IS, EXACTLY AS IS THE GLITTERING TERM 'CONSULTATION',
NOT EXACTLY ENLIGHTENING...BEHIND THE QUARREL IS HIDDEN
A FUNDAMENTALLY DIVERGENT CONCEPT OF HOW NATO IS TO
FUNCTION, IN A CHANGED WORLD - CHANGED BY THE SOVIET
UNION'S ACHIEVEMENT OF NUCLEAR EQUALITY AND BY CHINA'S
STARTING ON THE WAY TO BECOMING THE THIRD SUPERPOWER.
THE STRUCTURE OF FREEDOM THAT NIXON AND KISSINGER WANT
TO BEQUEATH TO THE WORLD - AND THEY HAVE AT MOST THREE
YEARS STILL - IS ONLY ATTAINABLE IF A CERTAIN TYPE OF
ATLANTIC COOPERATION IS SETTLED UPON. IN SUCH AN

ALLIANCE, WASHINGTON WOULD NEVER OPPOSE BASIC POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC DECISIONS ONCE THEY WERE TAKEN BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WASHINGTON IS DEMANDING TO BE SWITCHED INTO THE PROCESSES OF EUROPEAN CONSULTATION AT A POINT EARLY ENOUGH SO THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT MERELY BE INFORMED AS TO FAITS ACCOMPLIS, BUT INSTEAD WOULD STILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO A KIND OF CODETERMINATION, OR A KIND OF TAKING COUNSEL WITH THE EUROPEANS. IF THE OTHER EIGHT OF THE EC'S NINE ACCEPT THE FRENCH PERSPECTIVE, THAT WHAT WASHINGTON SEEKS IS A RIGHT OF VETO, UNDERMINING EUROPE'S IDENTITY--THEN WE WILL FIND OURSELVES IN A VICIOUS CIRCLE, TO BREAK OUT OF WHICH WILL CALL FOR THE MOST ADROIT DIPLOMACY. THIS CALIBER OF STATESMANSHIP WILL NOT BE FORTHCOMING IF ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO COVER OVER OR MINIMIZE THE DIFFERING VIEWS THAT EXIST WITHIN OUR TRANSATLANTIC STRUCTURE."

6. DIE WELT EDITORIAL BY W. HERTZ-EICHENRODE COMMENTS:

"IN BONN, THEY ARE HOPING THAT AFTER THE THUNDERSTORM NOW

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THE SUN WILL SHINE AGAIN. THE THUNDERING OF NIXON AND KISSINGER COINCIDED WITH BONN'S ATTEMPT TO TALK AWAY THE SITUATION AS 'A BIT OF A FLAP.' AT LEAST, THAT IS THE IMPRESSION YOU GET FROM HELMUT SCHMIDT'S REMARKS IN WASHINGTON BEFORE HE CAME BACK TO GERMANY. WHAT HE SAID HAS ONLY THIS GRAIN OF TRUTH: HOW FINE IT WOULD BE FOR THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY IF THE RELATIONSHIP OF EUROPE TO AMERICA WERE AS TROUBLE-FREE AS ARE THE DEFENSE MINISTER'S RELATIONS WITH SOME INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS..."

DIE WELT CONTINUES: "EVEN BEFORE THE START OF THE FIRST BRANDT GOVERNMENT, THE TREND WAS APPARENT. ONE COULD SEE EVEN THEN THAT THE PEOPLE WERE READY TO ATTACH LESS IMPORTANCE TO NATO AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP, IN DIRECT PROPORTION TO THE DECLINE IN THEIR FEAR THAT THEIR LIVES WERE BEING ENDANGERED BY THE U.S.S.R. ... AT NO TIME WAS THERE ANY DOUBT THAT RECONCILIATION WITH EASTERN EUROPE MUST COME. THE ARGUMENT WAS OVER THE METHOD, THE HECTIC PACE AND THE POLITICAL DUBIOUSNESS OF THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT'S CONCESSIONS TO THE EAST..." DIE WELT THEN PLACES THE BLAME ON THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT FOR STIRRING UP "EMOTIONAL OSTPOLITIK EUPHORIA AND WEAKENING THE TRUST OUR PEOPLE HAD HAD IN THE WESTERN POLICY SINCE THE ERA OF CHANCELLOR ADENAUER..." WELT CONCLUDES:"THIS IS THE MURKY BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH WE MUST SEE THE FACT THAT NEITHER BRANDT NOR SCHEEL HAVE SUMMONED UP THE POLITICAL GRIT TO TURN BACK, PROMPTLY ENOUGH, TOWARDS AMERICA...THE REAL SITUATION IN EUROPE IS MIRRORED IN THE RUSSIAN POLICY OF BUILDING UP AN ARSENAL...A THREAT TO OUR EXISTENCE IS NOT ONLY LATENT; IT IS GROWING.

THIS REALIZATION CAN FOSTER A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS
THE ALLIANCE AND AMERICA. BUT OBVIOUSLY THAT CHANGE
DEPENDS ON A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN BONN."
HILLENBRAND

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